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ABSTRACT

The paper represents a continuing effort at correcting misleading myths about the aspirations and expectations of disadvantaged rural youth. Useless or harmful policies and programs may result from the following erroneous assumptions: (1) that rural youth have low level aspirations for attainment; (2) that disadvantaged youth have low level achievement aspirations; (3) that aspirations and expectations become more realistic with time; (4) that aspirations importantly influence actual status attainment. Early evidence on the dynamics of aspirations and expectations is limited to a very narrow age range, and almost nothing exists to demonstrate how these phenomena change through early adulthood and later in life. The important conclusion that can be reached from existing research on status projections of rural youth is that they are projecting, for the most part, a middle-class life style. Most disadvantaged rural youth desire and expect a college education, white-collar jobs, and high prestige. ED 029 748 and ED 034 632 provide comprehensive suggestions for improving counseling and vocational opportunities for rural youth. (EJ)

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IMPLICATIONS OF RECENT RESEARCH ON OCCUPATIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL AMBITIONS OF DISADVANTAGED RURAL YOUTH FOR VOCATIONAL EDUCATION*

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INTRODUCTION

This paper represents a continuation of an effort at debunking common and misleading myths about the social ambitions of rural youth -- a task I began in a paper presented almost five years ago.[1] My purpose here is to broaden and extend this previous effort by providing a coherent synthesis of current research on aspirations and expectations of disadvantaged rural youth and to offer some ideas about how we might, from a sociological perspective, structure more effective programs of guidance and vocational education to serve these youth.[2] Before I elaborate on the mythical structures, I would like to briefly discuss the reasons why aspirations and expectations of youth are given such prominent attention today.

A basic requisite of any society is that positions necessary to its continued existence be filled by individuals who can perform the obligations of these positions effectively. This obviously includes the desire to perform the obligations associated with such positions. Furthermore, in this society, we believe that human talents and skills should be utilized to the uppermost possible limits, allowing each individual to progress upward through the socioeconomic hierarchy to find his limit of potential, self-realization, and desire. This utilization of individual potentials is of crucial importance to us at present. The strains on the resources of our society are great and probably will continue for some time. In addition, the failure to follow through on this explicit ideal just mentioned has created internal stresses evolving from frustrations of socially structured groupings unable to fulfill the ambitions they have learned are socially expected in this "achievement

oriented" society. Consequently, it is imperative that we attempt to rationally structure mechanisms for social mobility in our society to utilize as efficiently as possible our human resources, if we are to successfully contend with our internal stresses and our external demands. The extent to which we are successful in doing this may fortell whether or not we will continue to exist as a cohesive society in the future.

Most of the concern with the aspirations and expectations of rural and disadvantaged youth evolved from the basic premise that these projective phenomena to a large extent condition the individual for advancement or lack of advancement in the achieved status structures of our society. It is presumed that these "frames of aspirational reference" (as Merton called them) provide a cognitive map that structures anticipatory socialization into future adult roles.

To a lesser extent, but still important as a motivation, an interest in status projections stems from potential negative effects for both the individual and society of strongly held but unmet aspirations and expectations. This is the idea at the heart of the "revolution of rising expectations" spreading across the entire world. There is a tendency for creation of unrealistically high aspirations and expectations throughout the various population segments of our society which are not necessarily, particularly for the disadvantaged minorities, compatible with existing opportunities and capabilities of the individual. As Robert Merton pointed out some time ago, the incongruent structures of strong achievement goals with limited opportunity has very important negative consequences for both individuals and their evaluations of society.[3] A widespread failure to meet the internalized goals and expectations of classes or groupings of persons making up society very surely will lead to sharp internal conflicts and probable changes in the nature of the society itself -- a condition not

widely desired by the majority in our nation.

The problems discussed above in terms of the larger society are greatly amplified in the rural population. Much evidence exists to indicate that many, if not most, rural youth turn to urban labor markets for realization of their job and income goals. Once in the city, rural youth are at a relative disadvantage in competing for jobs with their urban counterparts. If rural youth do not choose to migrate to the urban centers, their only alternative is to take whatever employment is available in their local community, thereby rigidly limiting alternative paths for occupational mobility and, derivitively, broader social mobility. What is true for rural youth in general is even more true for the disadvantaged among the rural population. They obviously will suffer greater limitations due to impedements that are socially structured in their background environments, their perceptions and self-conceptions, and in the attitudes of other members of the society toward them.

The abundance of studies about youth aspirations and expectations, and the generous financial support provided for such work, stems from the desire to better understand the process of social mobility and the hope that we can isolate the causal variables that determine level of socioeconomic attainment in our society and thereby plan effective action programs to alter factors in such a way that occupational and educational attainment will be maximized for individuals and, derivatively, individual frustrations and group conflicts minimized. As I shall show later, we have learned a lot, but are still far from attaining these high objectives.

STATUS PROJECTIONS OF RURAL YOUTH

Common Beliefs and Myths

There are a number of common notions about aspirations and expectations of disadvantaged rural youth that have been around so long that they have become accepted as truths by many. Some of these have been supported by sloppy generalizations and erroneous interpretations of data reported by social scientists. Before going on to discuss how the research findings relate to these widely shared belief structures, let me ask you to answer the following questions:

1. Do rural youth have low level aspirations for attainment?
2. Do disadvantaged youth have low level achievement aspirations?
3. Do aspirations and expectations become more realistic over time?
4. Do aspirations importantly influence actual status attainment?

Positive replies to these questions indicate that you share in the commonly held belief structures that appear to me to be myths in light of present evidence. Not that there isn't some truth to each one, for there usually is, but they over-state the empirically demonstrated relationships in each case. The erroneous implications derived from these mistaken notions can lead to the structuring of useless or, what is worse, harmful policies and programs for assisting youth. What is my evidence for the bold statement that these common beliefs are misleading? The next portion of this paper provides a brief review of the accumulated evidence related to the questions posed above.

The Research Evidence

Obviously, this will have to be a very brief and superficial survey of research evidence pertaining to status projections of rural youth; however, a number of reports exist synthesizing findings on each of the topics to be

discussed and will be cited for the use of those of you interested in a more thorough investigation.[4]

Aspirations and Expectations

The vast bulk of accumulated evidence on status projections of rural youth pertains to job and education. Researchers have had the tendency to view aspirations and expectations for attainment along a single dimension. Even though almost two decades have passed since Robert Merton, a prominent social theorist, asserted that in reality youth maintained aspirations in more or less integrated sets, which may vary in the types of goals included as well as in the valuation of these goals. This premise served as one of the guidelines for the development of our regional S-61 project on rural youth and has provided the possibility for testing this proposition, and for providing information on less commonly researched objects of aspiration and expectation (i.e., place of residence, family formation, and military service). Several research analyses contributing to the S-61 project demonstrate that youth do, in fact, maintain more or less integrated systems of aspirations and expectations and that they do differentially evaluate the particular status goals in a hierarchy of importance.[5]

In reviewing the findings on rural youth, I will examine first of all the levels of aspirations and expectations for job and education maintained by rural youth and then consider place of residence projections, and family formation projections. In each case, I will first note general patterns and then discuss differentials associated with socioeconomic status and/or minority group differentials.

Job and Education

The accumulated research evidence clearly indicates that most rural youth

do not have low level job and educational aspirations and expectations at present -- personally, I doubt that they ever did. Whatever was true in the past, it is abundantly clear from recent research across the country that rural youth generally have very high job and educational aspirations and expectations. Recent analyses of regional data collected from several states in the South clearly support this generalization.[6] Rural youth predominantly prefer and to a large extent expect employment in professional or semi-professional and technical types of jobs. In reference to educational attainment, the vast majority of rural youth desire college level education and almost all desire at least formal vocational training or junior college after high school completion. There is a tendency for aggretage deflection from college goals toward anticipation of post high school vocational training. Currently, evidence from both the South and Northwest indicate that few rural youth either desire or expect to farm -- this has obvious implications for the need to continue Vocational-Agriculture programs for local high schools.

While it is true that urban youth tend to have higher level status projections than rural youth, this should not be interpreted to mean that rural youth have low level status projections, for it is abundantly clear that the rural/urban differentials are much less important than the similarly high aspirations and expectations held by most youth. Differences by race in the South and by social class across the nation are of a similar nature. Certainly class, race, and ethnic differentials exist -- the disadvantaged youth tend to hold lower level goals and anticipated attainments. Still the majority of even the most disadvantaged youth, the rural Negro in the South and Mexican American rural youth of the Southwest, desire high prestige job attainments and college level education.[8]

In conclusion, most rural youth, regardless of class or race, are like

most other youth in holding high ambitions for attainment. At the same time, it should not be overlooked that sizeable minorities of disadvantaged rural youth, perhaps much more than other types of youth, have relatively low level aspirations. Obviously any program of guidance or vocational training established to help these youth will have to take these differences into account -- the same programs are not likely to work effectively for both the very ambitious and the unambitious.

Place of Residence Projections[9]

Do most rural youth from economically deprived areas want to stay in the country? No! What about farm youth? No! At least this is what the scant evidence on the subject indicates. Studies done in both Florida and Texas indicate that almost all black children and most of the white living in the nonmetropolitan areas studied desired and expected to live in or near cities. Additional support from fragmental evidence of other studies done in Kentucky and Michigan support the contention that this is a general pattern. It seems clear that, unless the orientations of today's rural youth can be changed, there is little utility in attempting to sell them so-called "rural values" and to prepare them for local, rural labor markets. It seems to me that the place of residence projections of these youth represent a rational alignment with their high job and educational goals and the limited opportunities for vertical mobility available in the hinterland. Unless we can alter this situation soon, most rural areas in the South will face a continued exodus of ill-prepared youth that will continue to feed the smoldering problems of our urban centers.

Family Formation Projections[10]

Very little research has been done on rural youth's orientations toward the development of a family. The rural-urban differences in age of marriage and procreation are so marked and persistent, that surely one might presume differences in valuation of the family and, derivatively, differences in aspirations for such things. Yet, the only systematic and comprehensive study of disadvantaged rural girls projections for age of marriage and size of family apparently contradicts these notions. Our investigation of East Texas rural girls indicates that most desire to wed relatively late (21 for the white and 22.5 for the black) -- considerably after the age of normal high school completion -- and want small families (3 children). What is more, Negro girls do not differ significantly from their white counterparts in this regard. Again, this evidence appears to be in rational alignment with other status projections and is indicative of a value for deferred gratification in reference to marriage and children. The configuration of aspirations begins to look like a portrait of middle class, urban life. This is apparently the style of life most of our rural youth, including the disadvantaged, want and which many expect to obtain. Are we helping them obtain this end? For the most part we are not!

Dynamics of Ambition

Theory born out of the writings of Eli Ginzberg almost thirty years ago and perpetuated by later writings of such rural sociologists as Haller and Burchinal posits increasing specification, realism, and stability in occupational choice through adolescence.[11] It seems logical to presume that similar developmental trends should exist for aspirations and expectations directed toward other status areas and, in particular, education. However, little research has evolved to test these assertions until very recently. Longitudinal panel studies evolving during the past year from S-61 indicate that youth from economically deprived rural areas of the South, both black and white, do not demonstrate particular stability or increasing realism (lowering of aspirations) between their sophomore and senior years in high school.[12] Approximately half of these youth altered their job aspirations and expectations over the last two years of high school, moving to both higher and lower levels, leaving the aggregate profile for the two time periods relatively unchanged. It appears that whatever was done in the high schools these young people attended, it did not produce a greater congruency between their desires and anticipations or between these phenomena and the harsh realities of their competitive disadvantage in the labor markets they would face shortly.

A study of rural Mexican American dropouts we did recently indicates that youth may in fact lower their goals and expectations when they leave school, but not much.[13] Most of these dropouts held high goals and unrealistic expectations for both education and jobs. What is surprising, and important to know for adult vocational program development, is that the majority of these dropouts both desired to come back to school and would do so under certain

conditions. Another useful fact was that most dropouts indicated a lack of social support to stay in school before they left. More concern on the part of the school to identify prospective dropouts and offer them support and assistance could probably reduce the dropout rate.

Unfortunately, our evidence on dynamics of aspirations and expectations is limited to a very narrow age range — almost nothing exists to demonstrate how these phenomena change through early adulthood and later in life. However, I have some preliminary observations from a study we are just starting on rural adult Negro females.[14] While most of the 250 women studied never completed high school, almost all of them aspire to additional education, many of these desire vocational training. On the other hand, many, if not most, do not expect to get more training. I suspect this difference is due largely to a lack of vocational and other educational programs structured to meet their needs. Obviously this presents a difficult problem for vocational educationists -- these people would require some kind of economic support while going to school, considerable training in basic and special skills, and high per unit costs.

Aspirations and Attainment

In spite of the fact that much of the interest in youth aspirations and expectationsis due to the presumed importance these have on attainment of achieved status, very few studies have examined this relationship. The little research that has been done is dated, largely limited to occupational attainment, and restricted to the North and Midwest.[15] Despite these limitations, the evidence clearly indicates that aspirations are generally not good predictors of status attainment. On the other hand, enough evidence exists to indicate appreciable differentials among types of aspirations in this regard. For instance,

several studies indicate that aspirations to farm is for all practical purposes a requisite to becoming a farmer, and one of these reported that aspirations for low prestige jobs disproportionately produces unskilled and semiskilled job placement.[16] Although, we need many more investigations before we can make any definite statements about these differentials, the simple fact that they exist should be knowledge of importance to people concerned with helping youth plan a vocational career.

Perhaps the most telling significance of youth aspirations and expectations lies in the effects they may have for subsequent personal orientations and behavioral patterns, other than status attainment. A statement I made in this regard in an article published three years ago is still appropriate. "Whatever causal significance aspirations have for attainment, differentiating types of incongruity still seems reasonable. Past research has shown that there are important behavioral differences resulting from the job a person holds. For example, even when two persons are unskilled laborers, the fact that one started with an aspiration to be a doctor and the other desired to be a carpenter is probably an important difference. Similarly, going in the opposite direction, if two persons aspired to a managerial status with one attaining a high-prestige professional position and the other a low-prestige labor job, significant consequential behavior will occur.

"The most obvious way where these differences in kind of incongruity might be manifest is in the degree of frustration or deprivation felt in the work role. The dream of a great number of Americans is to be socially mobile (in a vertical sense) and high occupational achievement is normally an integral part of the former. The degree or extent of failure may influence the extent and/or nature of possible adjustment problems. Our own data indicate a marked positive

Association between deflection from occupational aspirations to undesired subsequent attainments and degree of negative self-evaluation. It is in this area that the apparently unabated interest in the study of aspirations may yield the greatest insight."[17]

If the tenuous findings reported above prove to be correct, and there is no evidence to contradict them, a program to help rural youth established on false premises ("the need to generally raise their aspiration levels") could compound an already serious problem and produce uncalled for psychic pain and social stress.

Summary of Findings

In brief the important conclusions that can be reached from existing research on status projections of rural youth is that they are projecting, for the most part, a middle class urban life style. The important dimensions of this configuration are outlined as follows:

(1) Levels of Ambition: Disadvantaged rural youth do not have low levels of aspiration and expectation -- they clearly desire to move beyond their parents' achievements in occupational and educational attainment.

(a) Most desire and expect high prestige, white collar jobs and college education.

(b) Very few either desire or expect to terminate their education with high school graduation and to enter farming.

(2) Place of Residence Projections: Most rural youth desire to live in or near a city -- substantially more so for blacks than whites.

(3) Projections for Family Development: Most rural girls, black and white, desire to marry in the early twenties and both desire and expect rather small families.

Furthermore, the limited findings that exist on dynamics of projections indicate that considerable instability exists in late adolescence, but that in the aggregate, the aspirations and expectations do not change much. What is more, there appears to be in general only a weak association between aspirations and long-run attainment, but on the other hand, it appears that lack of fulfillment of adolescent aspirations may be related to adjustment problems as an adult.

SUGGESTIONS FOR POLICY AND ACTION

A substantial number of publications have evolved over the last ten years providing a wealth of ideas on changes needed in rural school organization, vocational counseling, and vocational training programs to assist people in bringing about their ambitious projections for social mobility -- I have selected some of the more comprehensive of these and listed them in the APPENDIX. The two most recent of these reports, published by the ERIC Clearinghouse on Rural Education and Small Schools, are particularly interesting. Archie Haller in the publication entitled Rural Education and the Educational Occupational Attainments of Youth lists a set of general comprehensive needs: the need for massive financial support from federal and state governments to provide effective counseling and training programs for rural youth; the development of an awareness that programs of effective guidance and providion of social support are equally as important as facilities; and the need to train people to utilize the motivational and information resources that already exist in providing guidance and training for rural youth. The report by Griessman and Densley entitled, Vocational Education in Rural Areas provides a more comprehensive and detailed examination of suggestions for improving counseling and vocational education opportunities for rural youth. These authors cover quite well a broad range

of ideas directed toward such things as curriculum, school consolidation (including development of specialized area and regional schools), mobile vocational units, advisory councils, work experience programs, counseling programs, and needs in teacher education. I strongly recommend these two reports to anyone interested in exploring ways to further the interests of disadvantaged rural youth.

It would be presumptuous and of little utility for me to offer suggestions for specific structures and techniques in reference to vocational counseling and training of disadvantaged rural youth: many of you are more knowledgable in this respect than I, and other speakers who are specialists in these matters will be presenting you with information and ideas. What I intend to do is to view this problem from a broad sociological perspective and offer for your consideration general implications at two levels: suggestions for needs in collaboration and cooperation between certain subsystems of the larger society, and high priority needs for broadly reorganizing certain structures of rural education to better serve the needs of rural youth and adults.

Needs for Cooperation

We need to think big in orienting ourselves toward the solution of the problems facing disadvantaged rural people in gaining a productive and satisfying life. A more advantageous time for seeking broad support for melioration of this problem has probably never existed. We are dealing with a problem that has broad ramifications for all the people and areas of our society and one that is finally becoming recognized by the public at large. There is no need to take a narrow, provincial orientation toward this problem, for the interests of urban dwellers as well as people in the hinterland are involved. Rural people are not happy with the progressive depopulation their communities have experienced,

nor are urban dwellers pleased with either the magnitude or quality of the rural migrants. Obviously the flow of the disadvantaged from the rural South, particularly Negroes, into major metropolitan centers, which continues unabated, has contributed greatly to the general and critical stresses our nation faces today. The touchstone of the solution to many of these problems lies with the quality and effectiveness of rural education structures, regardless of whether the bulk of the rural poor continue to migrate to large urban centers or whether we assume that this trend can be reversed. In either case, or both, it is to the advantage of rural areas, the metropolitan centers, the nation as a whole, and certainly to the individuals involved to improve the prospects of social mobility for the rural disadvantaged. As Haller and others have pointed out, probably the first requisite is the need for a national policy on rural education with a special emphasis on the disadvantaged. I concur with Haller's judgement that "-- we need a single overall educational policy for rural regions, rural ethnic groups, and rural peripheries of urban areas -- a long range program for improving rural education with special but coordinated emphasis for different regions and ethnic groups." The enactment of such a national policy would bring about a widespread awareness of the magnitude of this problem and provide legitimation for giving it top priority for action and, derivatively, legitimation for the mass input of financial resources needed. This is not just a problem of local or county units or even a problem of just rural areas. It is a national and state problem. Consequently, we should expect and seek massive federal and state assistance in providing the heavy investments of resources needed to materially effect this problem. Strong, well organized cooperation between federal, state, and local governments is a requisite for implementation of a policy that will have any kind of impact on this situation.

In addition, we need to creatively orient ourselves toward breaking down the provincial community orientation that tends to prevail in rural areas of the South and other regions so that new, innovative, cooperative structures might be established between and among rural schools within counties, areas, and regions to better utilize scarce resources in developing the potential of rural people. This would also facilitate the development of cooperative programs of job placement and social adjustment that need to be built between rural and urban political units.

I do not kid myself about the difficulty of accomplishing the aformentioned objectives. These will be difficult to accomplish; however, they are necessary prerequisites to any kind of a general and enduring solution to the problems we face in rural human resource development. Another form of cooperation that might facilitate the accomplishment of these ends, and is very often overlooked in statements of needs pertaining to rural education, involves the relationships existing between social scientists, on one hand, and policy makers and educators, on the other. There is a need for more effective and continuous communication and collaboration among these groupings of professionals in order to realize a commonly held objective of improving the prospects for self-realization and social development of disadvantaged rural people. There is an obvious mutual advantage in carrying out the particular professional roles involved through the information that would be exchanged through improved communication and dialogue. In addition to this, and perhaps more significant in the short-run, is the increased power that would be marshalled through cooperative associations of these professionals relative to influencing the development and implementation of a comprehensive national policy. The efforts of agencies such as the ERIC Clearinghouse on Rural Education in Small Schools (New Mexico State University)

and the ERIC Clearinghouse at the Center for Vocational and Technical Education (Ohio State University) have made a beginning in this direction. But, these efforts are not sufficient to build the kind of intimate and continuous working bonds we need to get the job done. We need a systematic and intensive effort to begin sharing ideas and collaborating on programs through joint sessions of our professional associations -- first at the national level and then at progressively less complex levels of organization (i.e., regional, state, and local). We need to work toward establishing more effective ties in our day-to-day working relationships as well -- both within universities and colleges and between these systems and the rural school systems.

A hairy and sensitive problem involving cooperation of a different order is present in the rural South and Southwest -- that between racial and ethnic groupings of the populations involved. To ignore the critical aspect of this problem is utter foolishness, for no long-run solution to the problems of aiding the rural disadvantaged can be accomplished until we reverse the trend toward increasing tension and conflict between these groupings. We need to face up to this problem in a direct and honest way, to examine its dimensions closely, and to come up with programs and organizational structures that will overcome local and regional prejudices and discriminatory practices in both education and employment, without producing mutual distrust and disaffection.
This is a large order, but one that will not wait.

Change in Rural Educational Structures

In considering the needs for changes in educational structures in particular rural areas, there is a need to face up to the complexity of the problem and resist the notion that there is an easy or simple solution, (i.e. generally raising aspirations, better facilities, or better teachers). We must work across

a number of fronts simultaneously to have any hope of success.

First, I think it is necessary to seek out institutionalized structures impeding the possibility of innovative changes in counseling, training, and occupational placement of the disadvantaged rural people. Some of these that, in my judgement are most important and must be altered, are as follows:

1. The sanctity of the concept of the local community school and total local domination over the ends and programs of education.

2. The tendency to put local community interests ahead of the felt needs and objectives of the rural youth.

3. The tendency to maintain Vocational Agriculture as the most important vocational program for adolescent boys.

4. The tendency to neglect or give low priority to the need for comprehensive and intensive guidance programs, including career counseling and job placement.

5. The tendency to be satisfied with teachers who can be recruited at low salaries and the utilization of locally available, but partially or poorly trained, individuals as teachers.

6. The lack of concern for the development of a broad, continuous educational program beyond adolescence geared to adult needs and desires.

All of these changes will be difficult to bring about and will take time. We need to begin developing research, experimental programs, and knowledge diffusion toward these ends now.

Once change is possible, with some probability of success in implementation, priority should be given to establishing the following types of structures:

1. The development of a comprehensive program aimed at total human resource development, which will integrate vocational and personal counseling, development of educational options, placement in educational and vocational programs, and job placement.

2. To develop in the long-run programs to train counselors to operate this comprehensive guidance function -- people trained to utilize information on youth's ambitions, abilities and skills, labor market needs and restrictions, and job placement techniques. In the short-run present teaching staffs should be encouraged to do graduate work in counseling related areas and new teachers selected on their training and ability in student guidance.

3. To place an emphasis on education aimed at self-realization of the individual rather than on standardized, routinized processing of aggregates through school routines aimed at producing diplomas. Increase the opportunity for changing programs, provide highly personalized and individual student guidance, and structure opportunities for students to test their notions about life preferences in real situations.

4. Build more diversified programs aimed at preparing all youth for additional education after high school, including vocational training. Develop adult vocational programs structured to pick-up where high school training leaves off, and specialized ones to serve the drop-out.

Obviously a good deal of carefully structured experimentation coupled with honest evaluative research will be required to find the best ways of accomplishing these ends and others that may prove more worthwhile.

You may not agree with all the suggestions I have offered, but I hope that these will at least provide a framework for thought and dialogue. I am convinced that we need changes in our modes of developing the potentials of our rural disadvantaged, and soon, if our society is not to evolve into a form of rigid stratification none of us want.

FOOTNOTES

1. William P. Kuvlesky. "Occupational Aspirations and Expectations of Rural Youth: Some Suggestions for Action Programs," Proceedings, Association of Southern Agricultural Workers meeting -- Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology Section, Jackson, Mississippi, 1966.

2. William P. Kuvlesky. "A Synthetic Overview of Research on Rural Youth's Projections for Occupational and Educational Attainment," paper presented at the annual meetings of the Rural Sociological Society, San Francisco, August, 1969.

3. Robert K. Merton. Social Theory and Social Structure, rev. ed., Chapters 4 and 5, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957.

4. Kuvlesky, "A Synthetic Overview...," op. cit.

5. William P. Kuvlesky and W. Kennedy Upham. "Social Ambitions of Teen-Age Boys Living in an Economically Depressed Areas of the South: A Racial Comparison," presented at the annual meetings of the Southern Sociological Society, Atlanta, March, 1967.

6. Michael F. Lever and William P. Kuvlesky. "Socio-Economic Status and Occupational Status Projections of Rural Southern Youth," paper presented at the annual meetings of the Rural Sociological Society, San Francisco, August, 1969; and Thomas, Katheryn A. "Educational Orientations of Southern Rural Youth: An Analysis of Socio-Economic Status and Racial Differences," unpublished Master of Science Thesis, University of Kentucky, May, 1970.

7. Ibid.; and E. G. Youmans, et. al., After High School What: Highlights of a Study of Negro and White Rural Youth in Three Florida Counties, Gainesville, University of Florida, CES, 1965.

8. William P. Kuvlesky, David E. Wright, and Rumaldo Juarez. "Status Projections and Ethnicity: A Comparison of Mexican American, Negro, and Anglo Youth," paper presented at the annual meetings of the Southwestern Sociological Association, New Orleans, April, 1969.

9. William P. Kuvlesky and John Pelham, "Place of Residence Projections of Rural Youth," Social Science Quarterly, 50 (June, 1970).

10. William P. Kuvlesky, Angelita S. Obordo, and James D. Preston. "Racial Differences in Teen-Age Girls' Orientations Toward Marriage: A Study of Youth Living in an Economically Depressed Area of the South," paper presented at the annual meetings of the Southern Sociological Society, New Orleans, April, 1969.

11. L. G. Burchinal, et. al. Career Choices of Rural Youth in a Changing Society. NCRP No. 142. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota, Agricultural Experiment Station.

12. See the following research reports: Melvin Knapp. "Mobility Aspirations and Expectations of Southern Youth," paper presented at the annual meetings of the Association of Southern Agricultural Workers, Mobile, Alabama, February, 1969; Stephen S. Thaxton, "Occupational Status Orientations of Northeast Alabama High School Boys: A Longitudinal Perspective," unpublished Master of Science Thesis, Auburn University, June, 1969; Virlyn A. Boyd and John S. Lytle, "Changes in Educational Aspirations from Sophomore Year to Senior Year of a State-wide Sample of South Carolina High School Students," paper presented at the annual meetings of the Association of Southern Agricultural Workers, Memphis, Tennessee, February, 1970; and Katheryn A. Thomas and Nelson L. Jacob. "A Longitudinal Analysis of Change in Occupational and Educational Orientations of East Texas Boys: A Racial Comparison," paper to be presented at the 1970 annual meetings of the Rural Sociological Society, Washington, D. C., August, 1970.

13. Sherry Wages, Katheryn Thomas, and William P. Kuvlesky. "Mexican American Teen-Age School Dropouts: Reasons for Leaving School and Orientations Toward Subsequent Educational Attainment," paper presented at the annual meetings of the Southwestern Sociological Association, Houston, April, 1969; and William P. Kuvlesky and Sherry Wages. "Differences in the Occupational and Educational Projections of Mexican American High School Students and Dropout Age Peers," paper presented at the annual meetings of the Southwestern Sociological Association, Dallas, March, 1970.

14. This research is being done as a Texas Experiment Station contribution to a cooperative interregional USDA project NC-90 "Factors Affecting Patterns of Living in Disadvantaged Families."

15. Kuvlesky, "A Synthetic Overview...," op. cit.

16. William P. Kuvlesky and Robert C. Bealer. "The Relevance of Adolescents' Occupational Aspirations for Subsequent Job Attainment," Rural Sociology, 32 (September, 1967).

17. Ibid., p. 301.

APPENDIX

Selected Reports Providing General Policy Implications From Research on Aspirations and Expectations of Rural Youth

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